1777

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THE

AMERICAN CRISIS,

[Price One Shilling.]

THE

AMERICAN CRISIS,

BY A CITIZEN

OF THE WORLD;

INSCRIBED

TO THOSE MEMBERS OF

THE COMMUNITY,

VULGARLY NAMED

PATRIOTS.

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BIBLIOTHECA·BODLEIANA·

THE AMERICAN CRISIS.

PART I.

GENTLEMEN,

ABOUT the end of the fifteenth century, a period diſtinguiſhable for a ſpirit of adventure after new countries, Chriſtopher Columbus firſt diſcovered South America in the name of Spain, as did Sebaſtian Cabot that of North America, in the name of Henry VII. king of England; but nothing like a ſettlement took place in the latter country, till the reign of that great princeſs queen Elizabeth, who laid the foundation of a commerce in various parts of the world, that has raiſed this kingdom to its preſent glory, and which is now become eſſentially ne-

ceſſary to our exiſtence as a leading ſtate amongſt the powers of Europe.

In this reign Sir Walter Raleigh, a brave commander, began the firſt Engliſh ſettlement at a place which he called Virginia, in honour of his royal miſtreſs, and in every ſucceſſive reign new eſtabliſhments have been made, or greatly forwarded, along the eaſtern ſhore of that continent, the whole forming a line of above 1500 miles in length, reaching from Nova Scotia to Cape Florida; and in breadth from the ſources of rivers, to where they fall into the Atlantic Ocean.

A country comprehending ſuch a variety of climates, muſt alſo be various in its ſoil and natural productions. And, when to theſe conſiderations are added its marine advantages; its vicinity to the ocean, its capacious bays, and its extenſive rivers affording all the benefits of navigation and fiſheries, it is no wonder if this new world ſoon engaged the attention of the maritime powers of Europe: but

but I ſhall confine myſelf to the Engliſh eſtabliſhments in that quarter, which took place in the following order of time.

VIRGINIA, in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

NOVA SCOTIA, in that of James I. but falling into the hands of the French, it was retained by them till the peace of Utrecht, when for the conveniency and ſecurity of New England, it was reſtored to Great Britain for a valuable conſideration.

NEW ENGLAND, (comprehending four provinces, viz. Maſſachuſſets Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Iſland, and New Hampſhire) in the ſame reign.

MARYLAND, under Charles I.

NEW YORK, PENSYLVANIA, and the JERSEYS, were planted by the Dutch and Swedes, under the name of the New Netherlands; but theſe ſettlements proving troubleſome neighbours to the Engliſh colonies above-mentioned, they were by Charles

Charles II. added to the Britiſh empire, partly by conqueſt and partly by purchaſe, that monarch having given up to the Dutch the Engliſh ſettlement of Surinam in South America.

NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, and GEORGIA, began to be ſettled in the ſame reign.

EAST FLORIDA, and WEST FLORIDA, were given up by Spain in conſideration of the iſland of Cuba, which we reſtored by the treaty of 1763.

CANADA, the largeſt and moſt dangerous foreign ſettlement in North America, had in vain been attacked by the New Englanders, who were driven back with diſgrace and conſiderable loſs. It was however ſubdued by the Britiſh arms in the late war, and afterwards annexed to that crown in conſideration of Martinico, Guadaloupe, and other iſlands in the Weſt Indies, which we reſtored by treaty.

Thus,

Thus, partly by colonization, and partly by conqueſt or purchaſe, aroſe the Britiſh empire in America, at an expence which every individual of the mother country ſeverely feels, and muſt feel until that very uncertain period when the bulk of her debt ſhall be diſcharged. And in this manner alſo hath that country been ingrafted in our ſtate, forming a part of an imperial crown, which nothing leſs than the ſword of conqueſt can alienate therefrom. For was any miniſter, or ſet of miniſters, to evacuate theſe colonies, ſo long as we ſhall be able by force of arms to hold them, it is to be preſumed that ſuch relinquiſhment would be conſidered as a breach of truſt, whereby the ſtate had been betrayed, and the offenders might become reſponſible to the laws of their injured country.

Therefore, the unhappy conteſt in which we are engaged with theſe ſhallow politicians, does not ſo much owe its origin to this or the other miniſter, as to a belief amongſt

amongſt every ſucceſſive miniſtry, *one excepted*, that the colonies ought in gratitude, and in equity, to contribute a moiety, ſuited to their abilities, towards the general exigencies of that ſtate from which they derived exiſtence, under which they aroſe to ſplendor, and by which they had always been protected. This opinion gained ſtrength in proportion to the alarming increaſe of thoſe expences, particularly in the acquiſition of Canada, when the French power was totally annihilated in that part of the continent, and when every impediment that tended to obſtruct the growing wealth of the colonies had been removed.

The expediency of an American revenue or permanent ſubſidy, raiſed equally amongſt all the colonies, * being conſidered as

* At the beginning of the laſt war, ſeveral of the provincial aſſemblies, inſtead of ſupporting our troops, whilſt bravely fighting their battles againſt a ſuperior enemy waſted their time in wrangling amongſt themſelves, or with their Governors, upon the quotas that each reſpective province ought

as an unalterable propoſition in Britiſh politics, that period was deemed the moſt eligible for putting it in execution. It was not ought to furniſh towards the common cauſe. To this delay was in ſome meaſure owing the misfortunes of our firſt campaigns in that country; and ſurely no ſtate can be governed by political wiſdom, who muſt thus, in the moment of danger, depend on the capricious humours of its diſtant provinces for the means of repelling bold invaſion.

While ſome aſſemblies (viz. thoſe of New England, who have ſince been re-imburſed by the generoſity and equity of the Britiſh parliament) were contributing too much, others were contributing too little, and there was a certain ſet of men who would neither lead nor drive, though the enemy were nearly at their gates. Therefore, at the end of a ſeven years war, in which Great Britain had been involved ſolely to protect that country, in which ſhe had ſuſtained the weight throughout every quarter of the earth, at an expence not leſs than fifty thouſand lives, and ſeventy five millions of money—a war, which, to this day, and for many ages to come, muſt enhance the morſel which the labourer, and the children of the labourer, in this iſland, with difficulty procures to ſupport exhauſted nature—It was then that the ſhadow of an American revenue, but upon a *permanent foundation*, became the ſubject of parliamentary conſideration. The object that next engaged the attention of that illuſtrious body, was the mode by which it might be raiſed without affecting the people at large; and their determinations upon theſe important heads does honour to their moderation and their wiſdom.

not laid on by the hands of tyrannic maſters, as many amongſt you, Gentlemen, have been made to believe, but with all the tenderneſs and gentleneſs of kind friends and fellow ſubjects: it ſeemed to indicate a deſire that both countries ſhould exiſt under the ſame mild government and laws; that they ſhould for ages remain one people, mutually contributing to each other's proſperity and defence.

Britain enjoyed the benefits of an excluſive commerce with America, but was highly taxed; America was partly reſtrained in trade, but was to be ſlightly taxed—a ſyſtem wiſely adapted to the preſent ſituation of each country, and diſcovering a line of equity which well deſerves the attention of thoſe who chooſe to think for themſelves.

Mutual benefits require a mutual return of ſervices, but unfortunately for our American brethren, they loſt ſight of the great law of moral obligation, and of moral juſtice. They claimed their deſcent

ſcent from Britain, they gloried in the name of Engliſhmen, they flouriſhed under the influences of her equitable laws, and the protection of her victorious arms: But when indeſpenſible neceſſity urged the propriety of reimburſement, however trifling when compared to the burthens of the mother country, our brethren ſeemed thunderſtruck. They imagined, or ſeemed to imagine, that American Engliſhmen had an excluſive privilege of exemption;—that to contribute towards the general exigencies of ſtate was ſlavery, and that all Engliſhmen were ſlaves.

It becomes every country, ſaid they, to regulate its own affairs, and to judge of its own concerns. You have been very kind to us it is true, but you had your own views therein. If we have not fully anſwered all your expectations, we are ſorry for it. We are at a great diſtance from you. Thanks to your warriors and your ſhips of the line, the enemy is now removed from the frontiers. We are be-

come a great people and able to act for ourſelves. Taxes are odious to every true American, and herein we diſcover our profound wiſdom, for who would pay taxes if they could by any means avoid them? Freedom is our birth-right, and ſhould any power vainly attempt to deprive us of our property, we ſhall convince them that we underſtand the firſt law of nature.—So, moſt venerable parent, your very humble ſervant.

This kind of reaſoning had the defired effect; it rouſed America, it divided Britain; and now the expected period arrived, when miniſterial oppreſſion (the genuine offspring of liberty tree) raiſed their indignation, while American freedom inſpired their courage. Every man felt bolder than his brother; the ſound of war, like a peſtilential diſeaſe, flew from province to province, and two millions of people were eager to "undo or be undone."

PART II.

GENTLEMEN,

IT is a maxim as univerſal as philoſophy itſelf, that thoſe who wiſh to become uſeful members of ſociety, ſhould carefully endeavour to regulate their tempers, and to prepare their minds for ſuch ſalutary purpoſes. They ſhould act upon a ſcale (if I may uſe the expreſſion) as extenſive as the world which we inhabit; and, particularly ſo, when their deliberations happen to be directed towards collective bodies of men, or towards contending ſtates.

In ſuch caſes they ſhould be of no nation, no partial plan of politics, but they ſhould

ſhould think as citizens of the world, and, as citizens of the world they ſhould conſider, in every point of view, the pretenſions, the juſt claims, and the rights of one country as well as thoſe of the other. It is a field becoming the dignity of the human mind, wherein it may exerciſe its nobleſt faculties in a full diſplay of whatever is underſtood by candour, by impartiality, or by moral juſtice.

This conſideration, in theſe days of civility, I hope every honeſt ſtateſmen invariably keeps in his eye; but whenever it is found neceſſary to permit a leſſer evil, in order to avert a greater one, a true politician will make a virtue of neceſſity, and, happily for mankind, it is always in the power of a conquering ſtate to exerciſe benevolence, and every amiable act of humanity and mercy.

Upon this principle, Gentlemen, I am clearly of opinion, that the unhappy conteſt with our own brethren is now arrived

rived to ſo great a height that nothing but deciſive victory on our ſide, and that very ſpeedily, can prevent general devaſtation in Europe and America. If any reconciliation could have been effected two years ago, how much blood and treaſure would have been ſaved, and what inexpreſſible diſtreſs amongſt thouſands of families might have thereby been prevented!

But, Gentlemen, in the preſent ſtate of the conteſt, when the leaders of the latter country, have begun to thirſt after power, honours and fame, and when the great body of the people, (madly hazarding their lives and fortunes with all the zeal and enthuſiaſm of a religious war) are no longer left to act or to think for themſelves, we have too much reaſon to fear, that all propoſals which are not attended with uninterrupted ſucceſs on our ſide, will be rejected with diſdain, ſerving only to buoy up the Americans with higher notions of their own abilities, protract the war, enrich the natural enemies of both countries,

countries, load us with new taxes, and diſcover to the world the declenſion of this once powerful kingdom. The Provincials now laugh at the majority, they deſpiſe the minority, and every friend of government deplores the fatal deluſive intelligence ſent from hence. They have liſtened to the language of men whoſe principles are founded on prejudice, and miſtaken notions of that mode of government which ſeems beſt ſuited to the genius of Engliſhmen; and with theſe men they have again begun to ſap the foundations of an empire which nothing but regal government can keep together. Subſtituting imaginary evils for real ones, they complain of grievances which they never have felt, and of tyrannies which exiſt only in the ſanguinary declamations of their orators, and in the determinations of their infatuated councils.

May heaven forgive thoſe who, from whatever motives, have thus wantonly

kindled

kindled the flames of deſtructive war! Should America make a ſtand for a year or two longer, we ſhall find all Europe (already preparing for action) in arms. Each nation will be actuated by *ſelf*, and under that banner they will take their ſtand in the field of univerſal diſcord.

If this ſhould be ſo, and we have no juſt ground to doubt of it, there ſeems to be no alternative,—we too muſt take our ſtand, or rather we muſt ſupport our fleets and our armies, until theſe ſelf-made rulers of America ſhall be diſpoſed to hear reaſon, and to reſtore their countrymen to that happy ſtate, from which in the height of eaſe and of luxury, they have deviated.

Motives of policy towards both Countries, as well as the regard which we ought to have for the lives, the tranquility, and whatever is dear to mankind in general, ſhould incline us to wiſh

ſucceſs

ſucceſs to the Britiſh arms, as being the moſt effectual means under heaven, of averting all the horrors ariſing from a more general war. If this ſhould be the caſe, if by one bold effort, a ſingle battle, the ſwords of all Europe, already half drawn, ſhould again be put up in their ſcabbards, does it not ſhew that thoſe who, at this unſeaſonable period, inceſſantly rail againſt *all* the meaſures of adminiſtration, are not the true friends of either country, or of humanity? Does it not argue them to be men who rather than give up a favourite opinion, or relax from their ſeeming hereditary enmity to regal government, would ſupport their ill founded prejudices at the expence of whatever is valuable on earth—peace, ſecurity, and good will amongſt its inhabitants?

I would aſk thoſe ſticklers for liberty (a word which like religion is made ſubſervient to the caprice and all the ſiniſter views of a deceitful world) if America,

rica, under the protection of Great Britain, hath not, during the laſt half century, acquired immenſe wealth; and whether its inhabitants did not live far more ſumptuous than any nation under the ſun? I would aſk theſe pretended champions of the common rights of mankind, if the American commerce, her ſhipping and her cities, did not increaſe with a rapidity unparallelled in the hiſtory of nations? I would aſk the numerous ſectaries of that country, whether they have not, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, enjoy'd all the bleſſings of religious toleration? Finally, I would aſk them, whether their lives, their properties, their commerce, their cities, their country, their civil and religious liberties, have not been protected at the expence of Britiſh valour, and of Britiſh blood, and whether the advantages of their commerce, great as they are, bear any proportion to the enormous debt contracted in nouriſhing thoſe colonies, in defending them againſt the Indians, and in preſerving them from falling

under the yoke of France and of Spain?

But, Gentlemen, the ſubject on which I have preſumed to treat, is of a copious nature; it opens as we advance, it riſes in its importance, and it demands the moſt attentive inveſtigation.

Let us extend the view, and look forward towards futurity. If a vigorous effort on the part of Great Britain appears ſo indiſpenſibly neceſſary to reſtore tranquillity to her deluded colonies, ſo will it alſo, in all human probability, give a happy caſt or turn to the fate of North America thro' ſucceeding ages.

Generally ſpeaking, every inhabitant of our iſland is a philoſopher, a merchant, a ſoldier, a mariner, a farmer, or an ingenious artiſt. The ocean, is it bulwark; the conſtitution, its liberty; the law, its protection; and the whole world, its fountain of commerce and wealth. Independent of the weſtern continent, this iſland is its own defence, and the moſt perfect ſtate now exiſting.

What

What is North America? An immenſe Deſert. And who are the Provincials? A Medley of people compoſed of Engliſh, Scotch, Iriſh, Germans, Swedes, Dutch, French and Indians, parcelled out into a dozen or more governments; oppoſite in manners, religion, and political opinions: jealous of each other, and viewing one another in the moſt contemptible light. The northern colonies hardy, contracted, and ſuperſtitious. Thoſe towards the ſouth, liberal, effeminate, gay, and luxurious; while the Indians, who worſhip the ſun and moon, retain an implacable hatred to both, whom they conſider as ſo many robbers or plunderers of their country.

Can it therefore, Gentlemen, be ſuppoſed that the Americans, under theſe circumſtances, will enjoy the ſame degree of peace and ſecurity, when independent, as they have hitherto enjoyed, and may enjoy, under the mild ſway of a Britiſh govern-

government? May we not, from our knowlege of human nature, from what we learn in the annals of Greece of Rome, *of the Congreſs*, and other republican ſtates, infer, that ſo ſoon as our brethen in reality become pendent, ſo ſoon will they loſe that freedom which hitherto they have not known how to value? Does not the hiſtory of every country, but more particularly of republican governments, furniſh us with examples of unprincipled or ambitious men diſtracting the councils, and plunging the ſtate into the moſt ruinous meaſures?

Unfortunately for the preſent times, and for poſterity, there ſeems to be too much of this turbulent blood in the weſtern world. Hath not every individual of this extenſive empire, felt more or leſs of its baneful effects; and who does not foreſee the fatal conſequences of this unprovoked ill-timed rebellion, ſhould theſe people at laſt prevail? May we not ſuppoſe, that having thrown off the kind veteran parent,

theſe

theſe reſtleſs ſpirits will, like Greece of old, fall upon one another; and, in this ſtate of anarchy and confuſion, may we not alſo infer, that ſome enterprizing Alexander will aim at deſpotic ſovereignty over part, or the whole of that vaſt continent? Laſtly, can it be imagined, that during a ſeries of inteſtine commotions, the French, the Spaniards, and the native Indians would remain idle ſpectators?

It is but a few years ſince theſe ungrateful provinces ſaw themſelves hemmed in between the ſea on one ſide, and a powerful French colony on the other. They trembled at the approaches of the Canadians and Savages; they implored the aſſiſtance of the mother country, and to the valour of our troops they owe all thoſe bleſſings which of late they have ſo groſsly abuſed. Had they not in this critical period been under the protection of Great Britain, and had it not been the intereſt of Great Britain to protect them, it is more than probable, that before now

we

we ſhould have ſeen popery eſtabliſhed at Boſton, at New York, at Philadelphia; and very poſſibly theſe men who ſeem at preſent to court the favour of France, would have been the firſt who felt the weight of grievances which under an Engliſh government, exiſted only in idea. Their groans would not have reached beyond the walls of a dungeon, and their ſupplications would have been anſwered in the language of deſpotic Romiſh governments, *make your peace with the mother church for to-morrow you muſt die.*

Let us therefore candidly view the ſubject, whether reſpecting the preſent time or futurity, and we ſhall find that an union with Great Britain, will to the Americans prove a bond of ſecurity, of liberty, of wealth, and of peace. All theſe bleſſings they hitherto have enjoyed, and all theſe they will again enjoy, if providentially they ſee their trueſt intereſt.

A variety of circumſtances concur to cement this union, and to render it permanent. Among others it may be obſerved, that Great Britain and her colonies are ſituated nearly oppoſite to one another, on both ſides of the Atalantic, without any interveening land or hoſtile ſtate to interrupt their commerce. Thus nature, tho' ſhe has divided them by the ocean, has alſo united them by that element, and a very ſmall ſhare of ſagacity may convince us, that ſhe has pointed out the way to unanimity and to reciprocal advantages.

But, Gentlemen, the ſubject does not reſt here, it leads us far beyond the conſideration of mere commerical utility; and it well deſerves the attention of every friend of humanity. Wherever we look around amongſt the various nations of Europe, of Aſia and of Africa, we ſhall perceive the iron rod of oppreſſion, and almoſt a total diſregard to the common rights of mankind. We ſhall perceive that every nation has its tyrant, and that the

the people are his ſlaves. Reſpecting the few republics now exiſting in Europe, i may be obſerved, that inſtead of one Tyrant, the people are cruſhed under the weight of many tyrants; through whoſe emulation, or intrigues after power, the ſtate is held in continual fermentation. It is in this Empire only, where the ſpirit of liberty is truly underſtood, where it is happily felt, and where a judicious diſtribution of privileges and of equity amongſt all its branches, forms that beautiful equilibrium, which the great body of mankind may admire, but have not yet been able to attain.

To minds of a generous turn, it muſt therefore be pleaſing to obſerve the happy effects of unanimity amongſt the various members of this celebrated ſtate. It preſents them with a proſpect the moſt beneficial to the human race.—An empire under the mildeſt form of government, the wiſeſt laws, and the moſt liberal ſyſtem of religion, riſing to pre-eminence, and to univerſal

univerſal umpire—The ſword of power falling into the hands of thoſe who know how to uſe it in the common cauſe of mankind; giving vigour to our laws throughout every quarter of the globe, and proclaiming freedom to thoſe regions of Aſia in particular, who from the remoteſt periods of antiquity, have been held in fetters and in the moſt deplorable ignorance.

An union producing ſuch beneficial conſequences towards a conſiderable part of world, will give a higher importance to the preſent æra, than all the dazzling atchievements of thoſe heores, who in gratifying their ambition, their revenge, their avarice, or their luſts, have over-run the earth, only to enſlave it. An event ſo deſireable, will add dignity to our Britiſh councils, and it will immortalize the names of thoſe who have been the happy inſtruments of its accompliſhment.

To effect this invaluable purpoſe, it be-

hoves the ſubjects in both countries to be guided by principles of moderation. Tho' ſupreme power muſt be lodged ſomewhere, and no where ſo properly, as amongſt the repreſentatives of the people, it is to be wiſhed that the Gothic idea of ſuperiority may totally loſe its force, as in the caſe of England and Wales. May the only diſtinctions amongſt the various inhabitants of this empire be purely commercial, ariſing from local ſituation, from climate, ſoil, productions, and other accidental cauſes—every American to be a Briton, and every Briton to be an American.

Reſpecting the preſent commotions, when all circumſtances are duly conſidered, it would well become the Britiſh councils to incline towards mercy. Every unſucceſsful rebellion is its own puniſhment. This one has been particularly ſo. It has reduced a numerous people from opulence, eaſe and ſecurity, to almoſt all the calamities that can fall upon mankind. The loſs of life, and of property; painful

wounds,

wounds, diſeaſes, hunger, and nakedneſs, may be reckoned amongſt the diſtreſſing ſcenes of unrelenting, deſtructive war. Theſe evils our brethren have inadvertently been led into by men, who, bad as they are, poſſibly did not forſee the conſequences of their ill-judged harangues. They are at this moment without allies, without money, and without the neceſſaries of life,—driven from their cities—their places of ſtrength—and compelled to wander amidſt endleſs regions of froſt and ſnow, ſhivering under the ſeverities of a climate, at this ſeaſon more rigorous than what the imagination of Britons can fancy or conceive. In every encounter they fly or fall, and now they ſeem nearly reduced to the mortifying alternative of ſubmiſſion, or the dreadful vengeance of an enraged veteran army pouring in upon every ſide.

Such are the unexpected but the natural conſequences of unprovoked rebellion—a revolt, which in its riſe was founded upon injuſtice towards the Mother Country, and its

in its progreſs has been too ſtrongly marked with oppreſſion towards thoſe among themſelves, whoſe wiſhes were for peace. Thus, juſtice having cloſely purſued theſe ſons of diſcord, thro' all their progreſſive ſteps, amply avenging herſelf of their infringement againſt the laws of ſociety, of order, and of good government; the period is now arrived for a diſplay of Britiſh magnanimity.

In private life, the forgiving of injuries hath ever been conſidered as the ſummit of human virtue, the touchſtone of chriſtian perfection, and it well deſerves to be remarked, that the founder of our religion ſet the example in that memorable prayer, " Father forgive them, for they know not what they do." Politically ſpeaking, clemency towards the vanquiſhed, proves irreſiſtible victory over generous minds, and its charms frequently reaches even the moſt ſtubborn heart, which it unhinges, ſoftens, and qualifies for the duties of ſociety. It is this, more than

the conquering ſword, which raiſes petty ſtates to mighty empires, as the oppoſite extreme reduces mighty empires to inſignificant ſtates. Of theſe truths, the hiſtory of all ages abounds with examples; but unhappily for mankind, the latter ſyſtem has more generally prevailed. What is now become of thoſe great empires of antiquity, who ſucceſſively made the world to tremble—and to what cauſes are we chiefly to aſcribe their downfall? To cruelty and to low revenge, trading upon the necks of whole nations, who for a time have temporiſed only to riſe again with redoubled force, and to retaliate the barbarities of their former maſters upon their poſterity.

Clemency therefore, whether conſidered in a religious, or in a political view; whether as becoming the dignity of human nature, or as an eſſential principle in our political creed, ſeems to be the ſureſt ground-work on which to erect and perpetuate the fabrick of extenſive empire.

pire. Such an opportunity of gaining the affections of theſe deluded people may never more return. We may never have it in our power to gain a double conqueſt by means of lenitives as well as the ſword. Towards our natural enemies we have been generous to an extreme, and ſhall not our poor infatuated brethren who have ſeverely felt the weight of Britiſh arms, experience alſo, the happy effects of Britiſh magnanimity? Whenever they ſhall be inclined to ſubmit, or to treat upon honourable terms, may the Mother country improve victory by that rule of conduct, which has been her diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic towards the vanquiſhed—a generoſity peculiar to herſelf alone. May ſhe hold out to the unarmed, the bleeding, the ruined, and the diſconſolate Americans, ſuch a ſyſtem of laws and commercial regulations, as will warm their hearts, heal their wounds, and reſtore their fathers, their huſbands and their friends, with heartfelt gratitude to their half ſtarved, deſponding families.

If,

If, inſtead of executions, or confiſcations, excepting in caſes where wanton cruelties have been committed, we grant a general pardon, proclaim a day of general thankſgiving, we may be well aſſured, that ſuch gentle proceedings will once more *unite* both ſides of the Atlantic, and confirm to us the commerce of that country, upon a baſis more durable than the precarious and the expenſive ſecurity ariſing from any army of mercenaries ſtationed amongſt them, to enforce obedience.

FINIS.